

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 VIENNA 10121 01 OF 02 082027Z

51

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FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 914

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 VIENNA 10121

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJ: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: AD HOC GROUP METING, DECEMBER 7

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. AD HOC GROUP HEARD REPORTS
ON BILATERALS WHICH INCLUDED MEETINGS OF GERMAN,
GREEK AND CANADIAN REPS WITH ROMANIAN DEPREP
POPESCU AND BELGIAN REP WITH SOVIET DEPREP
SMIRNOVSKY. MEETINGS WITH ROMANIAN
REP INDICATED THAT ROMANIANS WERE FEELING
ISOLATED AND WANT ALLIES TO COMMIT THEMSELVES
MORE FIRMLY ON KEEPING NEUTRALS INFORMED,
PERHAPS EVENTUALLY HOPING TO CREATE A NON-ALIGNED
FRACTION. SMIRNOVSKY EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER LACK
OF SPECIFIC DISCUSSION OF SOVIET PROPOSALS BY ALLIES AND FAILURE
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PAGE 02 VIENNA 10121 01 OF 02 082027Z

OF ALLIES TO DEFINE THEIR PROPOSED SECOND PHASE.

AD HOC GROUP DISCUSSED DRAFTS OF FRG PRESENTATION
AND APPROVED AD REF ENGLISH WORKING TEXT, EXCEPT THAT
ISSUE OF INCLUSION OF HUNGARY QUESTION IN TEXT
RESERVED PENDING CLARIFICATION OF COUNCIL GUIDANCE
(PARA 3 OF US NATO 5959). END SUMMARY.

2. BEGIN TEXT. BILATERALS. GERMAN DEPREP
HOFMANN REPORTED ON MEETING WITH ROMANIAN
DEPREP POPESCU IN WHICH ROMANIAN PRESSED FOR
ALLIED STATEMENT EXPRESSING WILLINGNESS TO
INFORM NEUTRALS ON PROGRESS OF NEGOTIATIONS.
GERMAN DEPREP DEMURRED, POINTED OUT THAT
SUCH A STATEMENT COULD LEAD TO A PROGRESSION
STARTING WITH EXPECTATION OF NEUTRALS TO BE
INFORMED, TO THEIR DEMANDING IT AS A RIGHT, TO
AN EVENTUAL BLURRING OF WHO PARTICIPATES, AND
ENDING WITH A DEMAND ON THE PART OF THE NEUTRALS
TO PARTICIPATE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. GREEK REP
(DOUNTAS) AND CANADIAN DEPREP (MORGAN)
REPORTED ALMOST IDENTICAL CONVERSATIONS. GREEK
REP ADDED THAT, WHEN PRESSED, POPESCU ADMITTED
THAT THE MAIN REASON FOR ROMANIAN INTEREST IN
NEUTRALS WAS ROMANIAN FEELING OF ISOLATION,
IMPLYING THAT THEY DID NOT FEEL FULLY COMFORTABLE
WITH THE WARSAW PACT AND OBVIOUSLY NOT WITH NATO AND THAT BY
ESTABLISHING A NON-ALIGNED GROUP, THEY
WOULD BE ABLE TO SHOW THEIR INDEPENDENCE IN INTER-
NATIONAL AFFAIRS AND ALSO WOULD BE ABLE TO PLAY
A BIGGER ROLE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. US DEPREP
COMMENTED THAT AMBASSADOR QUARLES IN HIS FIRST PRESS
BACKGROUNDER HAD ALREADY INDICATED ALLIED WILLINGNESS
TO KEEP NEUTRALS INFORMED AND THAT THERE WAS NO
REASON TO PUT THIS IN THE FORM OF A PLENARY STATEMENT.
ACTIVE ROMANIAN EFFORTS TO PLAY OWN ROLE SHOULD
BE FOLLOWED CAREFULLY, BUT SHOULD NOT CAPTURE
FOCUS OF ALLIED ATTENTION. NORWEGIAN DEPREP
(VAERNO) INDICATED THE ROMANIANS HAD APPROACHED
THEIR DELEGATION TO CSCE IN GENEVA WHICH REPORTED
THAT THE ROMANIAN MBFR DEL WOULD SOON MAKE A
PROPOSAL ON WHAT THE WEST CALLS COLLATERAL
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PAGE 03 VIENNA 10121 01 OF 02 082027Z

CONSTRAINTS.

3. BELGIAN REP (ADRIAENSSEN) ADVISED THAT
IN DISCUSSION EARLIER ON DEC. 7 SOVIET DEPREP SMIRNOVSKY
HAD BEEN QUITE PESSIMISTIC AND GLUM ABOUT
FUTURE PROSPECTS OF NEGOTIATIONS. SMIRNOVSKY AND COMPLAINED
THAT ALLIES HAD NOT STUDIED WARSAW PACT PROPOSAL AND THAT IF
THERE WAS NO PROGRESS WITHIN THREE OR FOUR

MONTHS, SOVIET MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
MAY WELL SEND NEW INSTRUCTIONS. HE ASKED
WHETHER THE PACE OF PLENARIES SHOULD REALLY BE
KEPT UP AFTER THE CHRISTMAN BREAK. HIS APPARENT PRIMARY
CONCERN, HOWEVER, WAS HOW TO RECONCILE BREZHNEV'S
TIME SCHEDULE FOR POSITIVE REDUCTIONS BY 1976
TO ALLIED LACK OF WILLINGNESS TO DEFINE LINKAGE
BETWEEN FIRST AND SECOND PHASE NEGOTIATIONS.
BELGIAN REP TOLD SMIRNOVSKY IN THAT IN CONNECTION WITH SOVIET
INTEREST IN COVERAGE OF WESTERN EUROPEANS AND
CONCERN ABOUT WESTERN EUROPEAN DEFENSE COOPERATION,
SOVIETS SHOULD BE SATISFIED WITH ALLIED PROPOSAL
FOR A COMMON CEILING WHICH COULD ONLY BE
COMPLETED IN THE SECOND PHASE AND WOULD BE WITHIN
THE OVERALL FRAMEWORK OF POLITICAL DETENTE.

4. SMIRNOVSKY MENTIONED THE UNILATERAL CHARACTER
OF ALLIED PROPOSALS AND ALSO REFERED TO RECENT
STATEMENT BY GERMAN DEFENSE MINISTER LEBER IN
WHICH LEBER DISCUSSED THE IMPROVEMENT OF GERMAN
ARMED FORCES AND THEIR RE-EQUIPMENT WITH 1500
NUCLEAR WARHEADS. GERMAN REP (BEHREND)S
INTERJECTED THAT REFERENCE WAS TO 1500 TANKS AND
THAT WARHEADS HAD NOT BEEN MENTIONED AT ALL.
BEHREND)S WENT ON TO SAY THAT ALL OF ALLIED
REPRESENTATIVES IN VIENNA HAVE THE PROBLEM
OF RECONCILING STATEMENTS MADE BY THEIR
INDIVIDUAL GOVERNMENTS FOR PUBLIC CONSUMPTION
WITH THE AHG RESPONSIBILITIES IN MBFR TO STRESS
DISPARITIES.

5. SPEAKERS FOR 11 DECEMBER PLENARY. US REP
INFORMED GROUP THAT AS CHAIRMAN OF THE NEXT
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PAGE 04 VIENNA 10121 01 OF 02 082027Z

PLENARY HE HAD BEEN ADVISED BY CZECH REP (KLEIN)
AND HUNGARIAN REP (PETRAN) THAT THEY WOULD
DELIVER STATEMENTS ON 11 DECEMBER. GERMAN REP
AGREED TO BE SECOND SPEAKER ON 11TH.

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PAGE 01 VIENNA 10121 02 OF 02 082006Z

51

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INFO OCT-01 OIC-04 DRC-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 EUR-25 PM-07

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 VIENNA 10121

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

6. DRAFT FRG PRESENTATION. THE DRAFT OF THE THIRD ALLIED PRESENTATION (DRAFT SENT SEPTTEL) WHICH IS TO BE DELIVERED AT THE DEC 11 PLENARY BY THE FRG WAS DISCUSSED. THE FRG DEP REP, NOTING THE AD REF AGREEMENT IN THE SPC ON A DRAFT TEXT FOR HANDLING STABILIZING MEASURES, SUGGESTED THAT THE ISSUE STABILIZING MEASURES NOT BE BURIED IN THE FRG PRESENTATION. HE SUGGESTED THAT CANADA, AS THE ONLY ALLIED DIRECT PARTICIPANT WHO HAD YET TO SPEAK AT A PLENARY, MIGHT GIVE A SEPARATE ADDRESS ON STABILIZING MEASURES. THE FRG DEP REP ARGUED THAT THIS WOULD SERVE TO HIGHLIGHT THE IMPORTANCE THE ALLIES ATTACH TO THESE MEASURES. THE US REP POINTED OUT THAT, INsofar AS THE SPEC HAD ONLY AGREED ON THE TITLES OF THE STABILIZING MEASURES, THERE WAS NOT SUFFICIENT MATERIAL FOR A FULL PLENARY PRESENTATION. CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 VIENNA 10121 02 OF 02 082006Z

MOREOVER, HE ADDED THAT INCORPORATION OF THE STABILIZING MEASURES INTO THE THIRD ALLIED PRESENTATION WOULD MAKE THE PRESENTATION SIGNIFICANT AND SUCH INCORPORATION FITTED WILL INTO THE DRAFT. THE GREEKREP SAID HE FELT THAT THERE WAS MORE THAN JUST THE FOUR TITLES AVAILABLE FOR USE. THE US DEP

REP REPLIED THAT IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO HIGHLIGHT THE MEASURES MORE SINCE THE TIMING OF THEIR PRESENTATION IS UNCERTAIN. THE CANADIAN DEP REP COMMENTED THAT INCORPORATION OF THE MEASURES INTO THE FRG PRESENTATION IS CONSISTENT WITH THE PROMISE THE ALLIES MADE TO PRESENT MORE DETAIL ON THE MEASURES. AHG AGREED TO INCORPORATE THE TITLES INTO THE DRAFT BY ADDING NEW LANGUAGE.

7. STABILIZING MEASURES. THE UK REP INQUIRED AS TO THE CHARACTER OF THE MEASURES TO WHICH THE SPC HAD PROVIDED TITLES: WERE THEY "PRE" SINCE THEY WERE TAKEN FROM PARA 23 OF THE AGREED ALLIED PAPER OR WERE THEY STABILIZING MEASURES TO ACCOMPANY REDUCTIONS? HE WENT ON TO SAY THAT SINCE NO DECISION HAD YET BEEN MADE ON THIS ISSUE, THE PRESENTATION SHOULD NOT PREJUDICE THE QUESTION. THE CANADIAN DEPREP SUPPORTED UK REP'S CONCERN AND ADDED THAT THERE MIGHT BE A PROBLEM IF ALLIES SUPPLIED SPECIFIC TITLES FOR ONLY STABILIZING MEASURES WHILE OTHER ASSOCIATED MEASURES WERE LEFT VAGUE AND NOT FURTHER DEFINED. HE ALSO EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT THE TITLES MIGHT BE MIXED UP WITH VERIFICATION OR NON-CIRCUMVENTION MEASURES, SINCE ONE OR MORE MIGHT BE THOUGHT OF IN THESE TERMS. THE US DEPREP REPLIED THAT THIS WAS NOT A PROBLEM SINCE THE TITLES WOULD CLEARLY BE IDENTIFIED AS APPLICABLE TO STABILIZING MEASURES.

8. THE GREEK REP THEN RAISED THE LONG-STANDING ISSUE OF THE AREA OF APPLICATION OF ASSOCIATED MEASURES, INDICATING THAT THE DRAFT POINTED TO THE SECURITY SITUATION IN CENTRAL EUROPE, THEREBY NOT ADEQUATELY COVERING FLANK CONCERNS. US DEPREP INDICATED THAT FLANK STATES CONCERNS WERE DIRECTLY TAKEN CARE OF IN THE NEXT PARAGRAPH INCORPORATING COUNCIL GUIDANCE WHICH STATED THAT STABILIZING MEASURES MUST TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE SECURITY OF ALL PARTICIPANTS. THE GREEK REP RESPONDED THAT THAT PARAGRAPH ONLY DEALT WITH STABILIZING MEASURES. AHG AGREED TO OMIT THE CENTRAL EUROPEAN REFERENCE.

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PAGE 03 VIENNA 10121 02 OF 02 082006Z

9. HUNGARY QUESTION. THE ITALIAN DEPREP THEN DEVELOPED ARGUMENTS FOR THE EXCLUSION OF ANY REFERENCE IN THE DRAFT PRESENTATION TO THE HUNGARIAN ISSUE IN CONNECTION WITH ASSOCIATED MEASURES. HE ARGUED THAT THIS ISSUE SHOULD BE KEPT IN RESERVE TO MAINTAIN FLEXIBILITY AND CITED THE SPC AD REF TEXT TO SUPPORT HIS POSITION. THIS TEXT, HE MAINTAINED, DISTINGUISHED BETWEEN THE TABLING OF THE TITLES OF THE MEASURES AND DISCUSSION OF ASSOCIATED MEASURES. IT WAS ONLY IN CONNECTION WITH THE LATTER THAT AD HOC GROUP WAS REQUESTED TO RAISE THE HUNGARY ISSUE IN CONNECTION WITH THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ALLIED POSITION. THE US DEPREP SAID THAT TEXT OF COUNCIL INSTRUCTION WAS UNCLEAR AS TO WHETHER HUNGARY SHOULD BE

MENTIONED IN PRESENTATION ON STABILIZING MEASURES. SUCH MENTION DID NOT APPEAR ESSENTIAL, BUT IF THIS WAS INTENT OF COUNCIL, FAILURE TO CARRY IT OUT ON PART OF AD HOC GROUP WOULD BE CRITICIZED. THE US DEPREP SUGGESTED THAT THE AHG GET BACKGROUND FROM THEIR NATO MISSIONS AND ASSISTANT SYG KASTL, IN ORDER TO ENSURE THAT THE NAC DOES NOT FEEL THAT ITS INSTRUCTIONS ARE BEING IGNORED. THE BELGIAN REP AGREED WITH THE VIEWS OF ITALIAN DEPREP. THE ITALIAN DEPREP THEN SAID IT WOULD BE UNDESIRABLE TO GET AN INTERPRETATION FROM THE NAC AND SUGGESTED THAT THE HUNGARY ISSUE SHOULD BE KEPT IN RESERVE; SINCE IT MIGHT ALSO BE RAISED IN CONNECTION WITH REDUCTIONS. THE REP OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL SAID THAT HE WAS GOING TO BRUSSELS ON SATURDAY AND WOULD SEEK BACKGROUND FOR THE AHG ON MONDAY. THIS PROCEDURE WAS ACCEPTED AND A SENTENCE CONCERNING HUNGARY WAS BRACKETED PENDING RECEIPT OF CLARIFICATION. COMMENT: USNATO 5996 MAKES CLEAR THAT IT WAS NOT INTENDED TO MENTION HUNGARY AND SENTENCE WILL BE DROPPED FROM TEXT.

10. NEXT SESSION OF AGH IS SCHEDULED FOR NOON ON DECEMBER 10 TO DISCUSS GERMAN LANGUAGE DRAFT OF FRG PRESENTATION. HUMES

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